

China is evolving, under the munificent influence of capitalism, away from communist totalitarianism and toward democracy. Since reversing its China policy in 1993, the Clinton administration has bet the future that the answer to this question is yes—that Beijing is “reforming,” and that, therefore, Beijing must be befriended, its virtues made much of and its flaws overlooked.

That answer, it is now authoritatively revealed, is dead wrong—and so is America's China policy. This news arrives in “China's Pitfall,” a book by the Chinese economist He Qinglian that is not yet available in English but is reviewed in the current issue of the New York Review of Books by China scholars Liu Binyan and Perry Link, perhaps the most important article published in recent years on the China issue.

The reviewers begin by fairly stating the terms of the debate over the meaning of what took place in China during the Deng Xiaoping era of capitalist “reform” in the 1980s and 1990s: “In the U.S., many business leaders, followed by the Clinton administration, argued that Western commercial engagement with China creates not only more wealth but progress toward democracy as well. Skeptics countered that more wealth, by itself, does not necessarily cure social problems or lead to democracy.”

Who was right? Binyan and Link write: “‘China's Pitfall,’ the first systematic study of the social consequences of China's economic boom, vindicates the skeptics so resoundingly as to force us to reconceive what ‘reform’ has meant.” China's reform, argues He Qinglian, was nothing more than “the marketization of power,” and it has resulted not in anything approaching a democracy “or even a market economy in the normal sense,” but instead has created an immensely rich and immensely corrupt kleptocracy.

What the American business community and the White House chose to see as reform was, He Qinglian writes, actually one of the great robberies of history, “a process in which power-holders and their hangers-on plundered public wealth. The primary target of their plunder was state property that had been accumulated from 40 years of the people's sweat, and their primary means of plunder was political power.” The butchers of Beijing were also the looters of Beijing, and it was to save their power to loot that they butchered.

The plunderers were nothing if not bold, nothing if not creative. He Qinglian chronicles quite an array of techniques by which Beijing's evil old despots—sorry, reformers—exercised the levers of the state on behalf of helping themselves to everyone else's money. One breathtakingly simple way was to periodically tap into private savings accounts. Other equally straightforward approaches included “borrowing” public funds for speculation in real estate and stocks, and reselling commodities purchased by the state at fixed prices at much higher prices on the private market.

The pro-Beijing camp points to Deng's 1992 call for everyone in China to go into business and get rich “even more boldly \* \* \* even faster” as a milestone in China's evolution. Indeed it was He Qinglian reports: Deng's message was correctly interpreted by the power elite as a signal that the government and the party would look with a benign eye on even the most outrageous acts of the theft. In the words of Binyan and Link, this message “led virtually every official, government office, and social group or organization in China to ‘jump into the sea,’ and try to make money.”

“Reform” simply served as cover for crooked schemes by which these power-holders made money by transferring the wealth

of the state to themselves. Consider the denationalization of state industries, and the creation in their places of for-profit companies called “tertiary industries.” This was hailed as clear progress toward a free, open-market society. In fact, the state officials who oversaw the denationalization process established their children and friends as the owners of the new industries.

Perhaps all of this is true, China apologists will argue, but it is also true that China, in the process of making money, is necessarily moving away from Communist Party totalitarianism.

Yes, but not toward capitalism and not toward democracy. As Binyan and Link put it: “The party indeed has lost some of its political power, but has lost it not to the citizens but to a new robber-baron class that now allies itself with the party in opposing the rule of law.”

This is the reality of China: a country where the primary function of the state is to preserve power so that it might preserve plunder. This is what the Clinton administration praises, and supports, and defends against all efforts to admit the truth.

#### HAROLD HOLT: A LIFETIME OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO HIS COMMUNITY

#### HON. JOHN S. TANNER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 13, 1998*

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Speaker, for 50 years Harold Holt has been active in public service. For many more years than that, Harold Holt has positively contributed to the quality of life of his fellow citizens, not only in Dyersburg and Dyer County, but throughout West Tennessee.

Today, I want to salute a good friend and former colleague, who I served together with in the Tennessee General Assembly. An aggressive leader for his community, Harold Holt never lost a race for public office and built a respected career in banking.

His solution-oriented, consensus building style helped pave the way for the widening of U.S. 412, now a four-lane highway connecting Dyersburg and Jackson. He was known for his strong support for the best education possible for Tennessee's children and effective law enforcement in our communities.

He is rightfully proud, as we all are, of his wife, Bonnie, and their two sons, Jeff and Steve.

Printed below is a copy of a story published in the Dyersburg State Gazette titled “A Lifetime of Concern for Others.”

#### A LIFETIME OF CONCERN FOR OTHERS

When Harold Holt was growing up on a farm near Finley during the Depression, he saw neighbors pitching in to help those facing hardships such as serious illness of the family bread-winner.

He never has forgotten the spirit of cooperation and helpfulness.

“Each neighbor took care of their neighbor,” he said. “If a family couldn't get a crop in, other neighbors would pitch in and put in the crop for them.”

“Everybody in the community was close; even though they weren't related, they were very close.”

That closeness and concern for others has made Holt perhaps the premier politician in Dyer County. He has served as county trust-

ee, county commissioner and state representative and has never lost a political race. His son, Jeff, has followed in his public service footsteps and now is serving his second term as Dyer County sheriff.

“I've been involved in the political process since 1948,” Holt said. “That was my first presidential election, and I voted for Harry Truman.”

Former Dyer County Executive P.H. White said Holt is a person who can be trusted.

“Harold is a very trustworthy person in both word and deed,” White said. “He's always done what he thought was right, and he's very dedicated and devoted to his family.”

Longtime friend Dr. Douglas Haynes said he admires Holt's integrity—and memory.

“He's a person of absolute integrity, and he has the most fantastic memory,” Haynes said. “He knows a story about just about everyone in the county.”

Doug Williamson, another long-time friend, said Holt has gained respect through his honesty.

“He's a real forthright, honest person,” Williamson said. He's just a fine man, and many people respect him for his honesty.”

Holt said he has never been tempted to seek political office on a larger stage than representing the local population.

“Dyer County is one of the greatest communities anybody could ever have the privilege of living in,” he said. “The people here have been so kind to me and to my family.”

He said he has been approached several times to run for Congress but never really considered it.

“I was approached a few times, but I never gave it much thought because I would have had to run against Ed Jones,” Holt said. “I always supported Ed Jones, and he's a good friend to this day.”

Holt's devotion to his friends and his integrity are remarkable, said Jere Bradshaw.

“Harold Holt is a true gentleman,” Bradshaw said. “In my opinion, he's absolutely honest, above board and considerate of other people. I've always been able to rely completely on what he says.”

“I've supported him in what he does because it's always for the good of the community.”

Holt said Bradshaw's race for county clerk was the first local political race he ever got involved in.

“I probably worked harder for Jere Bradshaw's election than I ever worked for any of my own,” he said.

Holt served in the Tennessee General Assembly, representing Crockett and Dyer counties, from 1986-91, when he decided to retire from active involvement in politics.

In the legislature, he was known as hard-working and fair.

Though it is little known in Dyer County, Holt was one of the legislature's most accomplished pranksters.

“Harold was a good representative,” said state Rep. Frank Buck (D-Dowelltown), one of Holt's closest friends. “He took his job very seriously, and he did a good job for Dyer County.”

Holt often played his pranks in cahoots with Buck and former state Rep. Floyd Crain (D-Ripley).

“When the scandal about funeral directors was exposed several years ago—about one or two mistreating corpses and burying trash and that sort of thing—we sent a letter purporting to be from a woman who (state Rep.) Robb Robinson (D-Nashville) had mistreated at his funeral home,” Buck recalled. “Robinson took it seriously and, though he didn't remember the case we made up, contacted the state funeral directors board to ask if anyone had filed a complaint against him.”

“When Robinson found out it was a joke, he got pretty testy with Crain and me, but Harold wasn't there.”

"When he saw Harold, he looked at him and said, 'I'm disappointed in you, because I knew those other two were common, but I expected more of you.'"

"Holt's a good guy, but he's sneaky," Crain said.

Josephine Binkley, who was Holt's secretary when he first went to the General Assembly, said she can still get Holt riled up by saying she is going to tell Buck something about him.

"If I want Harold ribbed about something, I know Frank Buck is the one to do it," she said. "If I just mention telling something on Harold to Buck, Harold will say, 'Now, that's not necessary.'"

Binkley said Holt is fun but has another side, too.

"Harold is a fun person to be around," she said. "But he can be tough if that's necessary."

Buck said the pressure-packed life of a legislator needs to be leavened with humor.

"In the General Assembly, if you can't maintain a sense of humor, especially about yourself, you'll go crazy," he said. "Harold was always able to maintain a sense of humor."

Since retiring from the legislature, Holt has worked briefly as a lobbyist.

"I worked for Kemmons Wilson for about six weeks when we were trying to enhance and extend the logo sign bill to permit them on state highways and not just interstates," he said. "I still go to Nashville pretty often to visit my friends who still are in the legislature."

He also served a term on the state's judicial council, which looks at proposed legislation about the judicial system and makes recommendations. He was appointed to the council by former Gov. Ned McWherter.

Asked if he has any regrets about his years in the legislature, Holt thought a short while.

"I think the drainage situation at the Tigrett Wildlife Management Area could have been handled better," he said. "We didn't fight hard enough to get legislation that would have given us the type of relief on Stokes Creek that I think is necessary. It needs to be restored to the original course so water can rise and recede naturally."

Holt says he remembers the area from his childhood.

"When I was a kid there was bottomland hardwood timber there," he said. "But now it's a stagnant swamp."

"If we let it return to its natural course we can restore at least part of that area to what it was when I was a kid."

#### LIFELINES

##### FAMILY BACKGROUND

Harold Henry Holt was born Oct. 1, 1926, at Richwood in western Dyer County. His parents were Buford and Stella Yarbro Holt. His mother died of complications of childbirth, and his father moved away soon after to seek work during the Depression. Holt was raised by his grandparents. Richard and Lora Holt. "They were 50-years-old when I was born, so they raised me more as their child than their grandchild," he said.

He never lived with his father, who remarried and fathered two more sons. Holt's half brother, Richard Holt, died in 1984. Another half brother, Ralph Holt, lives in Mayfield, Ky.

##### FAMILY MATTERS

Holt met Bonnie Bivens at a ball game, and the two married on Oct. 2, 1949. They have two sons, Jeff Holt, the current sheriff of Dyer County, and Steve Holt, supervisor of children's services in Tipton, Lauderdale and Fayette counties for the Tennessee Department of Human Services. They have two

grandchildren, Steven, a sophomore at the University of Memphis and Katherine, a senior at Covington High School.

#### EDUCATION

Holt attended Richwood School and Dyersburg High School, graduating in 1945. He has taken courses at Dyersburg State Community College and the Southeastern School of Banking at Louisiana State University.

#### EMPLOYMENT

Right out of high school, Holt worked at Rhea Wholesale in Dyersburg for about 18 months. Then he worked at a hardware store for a year before becoming a deputy trustee. He held that job for six years until the trustee retired and he was elected county trustee in 1954. He served until November 1969, when he took a job with First Bank and Trust Co. as public relations director. First Bank and Trust was acquired by First Tennessee Bank in 1971, and Holt remained with the bank in public relations until 1992. "In a small bank, you do a lot of things," Holt said. "I was also a loan officer and other things. I never was janitor, but I was custodian."

#### HOBBIES

Holt loves to fish and has a cabin on Kentucky Lake for about 20 years. He once was an avid hunter but has given up hunting. "My grandfather taught me to play checkers," he said. "I still like to play checkers and dominoes at the (Dyer County) Office On Aging."

#### ACTIVITIES

Holt was elected to the county commission in 1970 and served until he failed to seek reelection in 1978. He was elected to the Tennessee House of Representatives in 1986 and served until he retired in 1992. He served a term on the Tennessee Judicial Council, which considers proposed legislation relating to the state's judicial system and makes recommendations. During this service in the legislature, he received awards from the State Election Commission, the Dyersburg/Dyer County Chamber of Commerce and the Dyer County Office On Aging for his legislative leadership. He served on the House Commerce, Transportation, State and Local Government and Calendar committees and was secretary of the State and Local Government Committee.

#### QUOTE

"My grandmother used to tell me, 'If you always tell the truth, you don't have to worry about keeping up with the tales you've told.' That's pretty good advice."

#### IN HONOR OF THE HONORABLE ADDISON MCLEON

#### HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ

##### OF NEW JERSEY

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 13, 1998*

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay special tribute to former State Assemblyman Addison McLeon for his innumerable contributions and many years of honorable service to the community. Assemblyman McLeon has been an icon of African American politics in Jersey City, Hudson County and the State of New Jersey for many years.

Addison McLeon's career exemplifies his selfless dedication to the community. Addison McLeon was Hudson County's first African American to serve in the State Assembly (1966–1970). He has served as a member of the Jersey City Board of Education, the Direc-

tor of Housing for the Essex County Urban League, a member of the Jersey City Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and on the Jersey City Housing Authority. He is also a founder of the Civic Awareness Council, a citizen's action organization.

It is an honor to have such an exceptional gentleman working on behalf of the residents of my home state of New Jersey. I ask that my colleagues join me in recognizing the outstanding work of Addison McLeon who exemplifies community service at its best.

IN HONOR OF DR. HAROLD L.  
CEBRUN, SR., EDUCATOR, 30  
YEARS OF SERVICE

#### HON. LORETTA SANCHEZ

##### OF CALIFORNIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 13, 1998*

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to pay tribute to Dr. Harold L. Cebun, Sr. who has dedicated thirty years of service to education.

During his thirty year career as an educator, Dr. Cebun has lived his life according to his personal beliefs. He once stated, "We make a living by what we get, we make a life by what we give." By deed and example, Dr. Cebun demonstrates this belief in all his actions.

Dr. Cebun has been an active participant and leader in education, athletics and youth sports programs. As a young man Dr. Cebun was an outstanding student athlete at Yates High School in Houston, Texas, and throughout his college career at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

His academic career earned him a Bachelor's Degree in Physical Education and Sociology, a Masters degree in Intergroup Education and a Doctorate in Counseling Psychology and Education Administration. He began his educational career in 1967 as a substitute teacher. He retired as the Superintendent of Schools for Compton Unified School District. During his thirty year tenure as a teacher he taught elementary, junior high school and high school. He was also a coach for basketball, baseball, and track, high school principal, and director of student services.

In July of 1997 Dr. Debrun started a new career as athletic administrator. He was selected as Assistant Commissioner of Athletics for the California Interscholastic Federation (CIF) Southern Section and, notably, is the first African-American Administrator to serve in the CIF office since the organization began in 1913.

Dr. Cebun is a leader in the war against ignorance striving always to share his wealth of knowledge with schools, school districts, businesses and corporate executives. He is an eloquent speaker and consultant who views are sought by many organizations. His expertise in team building, team management and effective leadership has earned him the respect and admiration of peers and community leaders.

Colleagues, please join me today in paying tribute to an exceptional educator and mentor—Dr. Harold L. Cebun, Sr.